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ness with the *South Carolina Exposition*, while a half-dozen questions, among them this sectional defiance by the South, are pending. The writer of the next volume must reach back a long, long distance to gather up the threads of the bank and nullification controversies; and must extract the essence of whole sections of Professor Turner's book for the introduction to his own.

So it would not be just to treat the *Rise of the West* as a monograph. If it really pretended to be such it would be exposed to severe criticism for lack of unity and proportion. Very rarely has the author failed to preserve the proportions which the subject under treatment holds to the series. Once, but perhaps only once seriously, has the author erred by straining the facts so as to connect the chapter on the Missouri Compromise to the subtitle more closely than is due by saying in the last paragraph, here quoted in full, that "The slavery struggle derived its national significance from the West, into which expanding sections carried warring institutions" (p. 171; cf. pp. 149 and 186).

The justification of the subtitle and of the developing thought of the book are both more discriminatingly and profoundly expressed in another line of thought. "Beginning with nationalism", a nationalism, however, in which abiding sectional dissimilarities prevent the growth of complete homogeneity, "beginning with nationalism, the period ends with sectionalism" (p. 330), a sectionalism, exemplified in the tariff for protection and the *South Carolina Exposition*, which is a struggle of section against section for the perpetuation of sectional peculiarities. But "one profound change, not easy to depict except by its results", is manifest in "the formation of the self-conscious American democracy, strongest in the West and middle region, but running across all sections and tending to divide the people on the lines of social classes" (p. 9), a democracy whose typical hero is Andrew Jackson.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 15. *Jacksonian Democracy, 1829-1837.* By WILLIAM MACDONALD: (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xiv, 345.)

THE author's purpose is to show how, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, our democracy formulated a new and definite creed of political principles, and how that creed was personified in Andrew Jackson. Professor MacDonald attempts to depict the movement as a whole rather than the unique central figure; nevertheless that figure inevitably holds the vision.

Two brief introductory chapters summarize the social and political conditions which brought Andrew Jackson to the threshold of the presidency in 1828. These chapters necessarily review some of the more extended studies in the volumes immediately preceding this one in the series, Turner's *Rise of the New West* and Babcock's *Rise of American*

Nationality. This initial analysis introduces the successful candidate of 1828, the first Allegheny mountaineer to take his seat in the White House, as a typical frontiersman, with all the characteristic virtues and vices of that mountain people, impulsive, affectionate, quarrelsome, uneducated yet not ignorant, masterful, and impatient of theoretical restraints. Says our author, "Of all the men whom the winds and currents of American life had thus far thrown to the surface, none had less respect for the past, less breadth of culture or personal experience, less self-restraint than Andrew Jackson."

Before Jackson became an object of political idolatry and sniffed the incense of popular adulation with increasing zest, if we may believe a story in Parton's life of him (still the most interesting biography of "Old Hickory"), he was himself in substantial agreement with the opinion quoted above. "Do they suppose", said he, "that I am such a damned fool as to think myself fit for President of the United States? No, sir! I know what I am fit for. I can command a body of men in a rough way; but I am not fit to be President."

The first chapter in this volume that begins the specific discussion of Jacksonian Democracy (chap. iv.) is appropriately devoted to the spoils system in the national civil service. Two chapters (vii., xiii.) tell the story of the destruction of the Bank of the United States and the removal of the deposits. One chapter to each topic tells (xviii.) how the development of roads and canals at federal expense was checked, (x.) how the Indian tribes were removed across the Mississippi, (xii.) how the pending controversies with England concerning the West India trade and with France and a company of smaller nations were all favorably settled, and finally (xi., xvii.) how Calhoun was thrown overboard and Martin Van Buren was placed in command of the Democratic ship of state by the iron will of this iron man. These events, together with the payment of the public debt, were the great triumphs of Jackson's administration.

Three chapters (v., vi., ix.) are devoted to the tariff and nullification controversy, out of which Jackson derived much personal credit, but which was unfortunately a drawn battle and no triumph. In two chapters (xiv., xvi.) there is an examination of what may be called the failures of Jackson's administration, such as his efforts to make the President ineligible for re-election, to secure a constitutional amendment, providing for the election of President and Vice-president by popular vote, to bestow a sensible plan of government upon the District of Columbia (which was not done until 1871), and, finally, his attempt to require the payment of specie for the purchase of public lands, which brought on the panic of 1837.

Chapter xv. reviews the internal history of the states during these eight years, with especial reference to constitutional changes and political affiliations. The prominence of the New York leaders is recognized, but perhaps the importance of the Equal Rights faction as an element

in Northern Jacksonian Democracy is not sufficiently emphasized. It is possible that the author has practised too much self-denial in dealing with the element of personality. Jacksonian Democracy was bound together by individual influence, and, while Jackson himself can scarcely fail to receive full consideration, his inner circle of advisers, and especially Van Buren, have not always been so fortunate.

The text concludes with a rapid but thoughtful and satisfactory criticism of Jackson as a party leader. A final chapter on authorities presents a selected list of references in a rather disorderly arrangement, with some critical notes. There are eight good maps, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson, and an index, which seems in general sufficient, though it may be noted that Francis P. Blair's name does not appear in it and that Ambrister becomes "Ambuster".

The most striking omission in the volume is the absence of any discussion of the slavery question in reference to Jacksonian Democracy. This omission is made necessary by the plan of the series, which surrenders the subject "Slavery and Abolition" to the next volume (16). Such a reservation, however advantageous for the series, necessarily makes this volume incomplete as a study of its announced subject. The author does, however, venture to show how Jackson sympathized with and aided the movement for the annexation of Texas.

Professor MacDonald's contribution is, thus far, the best concise and brief essay upon Jackson's two administrations. It is not so complete and illuminating as Professor Sumner's biography of Jackson in the "American Statesmen" series, but the present volume does not claim to be a biography. For a gallery of portrait-sketches of the men of Jackson's circle and era, one may resort to the more leisurely page of Peck's *Jacksonian Epoch*, and for Jackson himself to Parton, or to John Fiske's brilliant essays, but for a lucid and temperate statement of all but one of the dominant questions during Jackson's presidency, Professor MacDonald's volume is adequate.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Lincoln, Master of Men. By ALONZO ROTHSCHILD. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. 531.)

IN view of all that has been written about Abraham Lincoln, an accession in the shape of a volume of four hundred pages may reasonably be asked to justify its existence. Readers of the REVIEW will insist upon knowing at the outset, whether the author has had access to hitherto unpublished material; or failing this, whether he has essayed a fresh interpretation of the career and character of the great man who has become the subject of a cycle of traditions. The first query must be met with a negative. Nowhere in the text, or in the copious notes, is there any evidence that Mr. Rothschild has used other than well-known authorities. As an interpretative study, the book has to do rather with a phase of Lincoln's character than with the whole man.